

# EXHIBIT 3

IN THE IOWA DISTRICT COURT FOR POLK COUNTY

PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF THE HEARTLAND, INC., and JILL MEADOWS. M.D.,  Petitioners,  v.  TERRY BRANSTAD ex rel. STATE OF IOWA and IOWA BOARD OF MEDICINE,  Respondents.	Equity Case No. _____  AFFIDAVIT OF JANE COLLINS, PH.D.
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1. I am a Professor of Community & Environmental Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. My areas of expertise include poverty, gender studies, and low-wage labor markets.

2. I became a member of the faculty at UW-Madison in 1992 after working for nine years as an Assistant and Associate Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Binghamton. I received my PhD in Anthropology from the University of Florida in 1981. For more than 30 years, I have conducted research on low-wage labor and poverty, both in the United States and in Latin America.

3. I have authored or co-authored five books and more than 50 articles and have edited or co-edited four additional books. My most recent book on poverty, *Both Hands Tied*, co-authored with my graduate student Victoria Mayer and published by University of Chicago Press in 2010, is based on research about women transitioning from welfare to work in Milwaukee and Racine, Wisconsin. *Both Hands Tied* received 2011 Outstanding Book awards from two sub-units of the American Sociological Association: the Poverty, Inequality & Mobility section and the Labor & Labor Movements section. It also received the Sarah Whaley Book Prize from the

National Women's Studies Association. I have been a faculty affiliate of the Institute for Research on Poverty at UW-Madison for many years and a member of IRP's Executive Committee since 2006.

4. My research on poverty and low-wage labor markets in the United States and Latin America has been supported by a number of grants from the National Science Foundation, as well as from the Inter-American Foundation and the Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development.

5. My curriculum vitae, which describes my experience and qualifications in greater detail and lists my publications, is attached as Exhibit A.

6. I submit this affidavit in support of Plaintiffs' Motion for a Temporary Injunction.

#### **EFFECTS OF THE ACT ON LOW-INCOME WOMEN IN IOWA**

7. I understand from lawyers for the Petitioners in this case that prior to the Act, Iowa law required a woman seeking an abortion to receive a state-mandated ultrasound and to be offered the opportunity to view the ultrasound. However, I understand that a new law, section 1 of Senate File 471 ("the Act"), requires women to obtain the ultrasound, to be offered the opportunity to hear the fetal heartbeat and a description of the fetus, and to receive information about alternatives to abortion, risk factors, and details of the abortion procedure at least 72 hours prior to receiving a medically induced or surgical abortion. As a result, Iowa women will now be required to make an additional trip to clinics that provide abortion services. Because most Iowa clinics are already scheduling appointments one to three weeks from the time of the initial request for services, the Act's requirements of an additional trip along with a mandatory delay will result in severe delays for women seeking an abortion. These requirements will mean that some women who wanted a medication abortion will instead have to have a surgical abortion.

Some women requiring a surgical abortion will be unable to access that procedure within the first 22 weeks of pregnancy dated from a woman's last menstrual period ("lmp"), the gestational age limit also imposed by the Act, and therefore will be prevented from having an abortion in the state altogether.

8. I have become familiar with the difficulties imposed on low-income women by laws that require women seeking to have an abortion to travel farther distances through my research and familiarity with literature in the field.

9. By requiring Iowa women to make an additional trip to the health center in order to obtain an abortion, the Act will impose serious economic and logistical burdens and mental and emotional strain on low-income women who seek an abortion. Based on my 30 years of experience studying poverty, it is my opinion that the Act will impose real hardships on some poor and low-income women, by forcing them to skimp on food and other basic necessities for themselves and their families, to fall behind on bills and rent, and to take on debt they cannot afford, among other things. In addition, the Act will force some women to delay their abortions as they attempt to come up with the necessary money and make the logistical arrangements. Others will not be able to obtain an abortion at all and therefore will be forced to continue a pregnancy they would have otherwise ended.

### **Poverty and Low-Income Women in Iowa**

10. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Iowa's overall poverty rate, measured as the proportion of individuals living in households at or below 100% of the federal poverty threshold, was 12.5% in 2015.<sup>1</sup> But, as explained below, these figures dramatically underestimate the percentage of families who are financially struggling in Iowa. A more realistic

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact-Finder (Iowa), "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates," <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045216/19>.

assessment is that more than one-quarter of Iowa residents live in households that struggle significantly to make ends meet.

11. The federal poverty threshold is set by the United States Department of Health and Human Services, using a formula originally developed in the 1960s. That formula starts with an assumption that families spend one-third of their income on food, which no longer accurately reflects reality. According to this formula, a single person who makes less than \$12,060 per year in 2017 falls below the federal poverty line, with the poverty threshold increasing \$4,180 for each additional household member.<sup>2</sup> However, this formula is seriously outdated. Poor families today spend much more, proportionally, on housing and transportation than in the past. The formula also fails to account for other necessary costs, including childcare, medical expenses, utilities, and taxes, and it does not consider regional differences in costs.<sup>3</sup> Because of these flaws, poverty experts now generally use 200% of the federal poverty guideline as a closer approximation of what people really need to earn to survive on their own. (Many experts refer to families living at or below 100% of the federal poverty line as “poor” and those between 100 and 200% as “low-income.”)<sup>4</sup> In 2013, 27% of individuals in Iowa lived in households that were poor or low-income.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Poverty Guidelines,” <https://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty-guidelines>.

<sup>3</sup> Smeeding, T. M., Isaacs, J. B., and Thornton, K. A., *Wisconsin Poverty Report: Is the Safety Net Still Protecting Families From Poverty in 2011?*, Institute for Research on Poverty, June 2013, p. 4. <http://www.irp.wisc.edu/research/WisconsinPoverty/pdfs/WI-PovertyReport2013.pdf>.

<sup>4</sup> Short, K. and Smeeding, T., *Understanding Income-to-Threshold Ratios Using the Supplemental Poverty Measure*, U.S. Census Bureau, August 21, 2012, p. 3. <https://www.census.gov/hhes/povmeas/methodology/supplemental/research/SEHSD2012-18.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, “Distribution of the Total Population by Federal Poverty Level (above and below 200% FPL, 2015),” <http://kff.org/other/state-indicator/population-up-to-200-fpl/?currentTimeframe=0&sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D>.

12. Even this figure, however, underestimates the poverty rates of women impacted by the Act, since poverty rates in the U.S. are higher for women than men, and are highest for women during their childbearing years and in old age.<sup>6</sup> The poverty rate for Iowa women in 2015 was 13.7%.<sup>7</sup> In addition poor and low-income women have higher rates of unintended pregnancy and abortion.<sup>8</sup> In fact, a survey of women having abortions in the United States in 2014 found that 49% of women reported being below the federal poverty line, with another 26% living on incomes between 100% and 199% of the federal poverty line, for a total of 75% of women getting abortions being poor or low income.<sup>9</sup> It is my understanding, based on information provided by Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, that over 50% of women seeking abortion in Iowa are at or below 110% of the federal poverty level.

13. To understand the dire circumstances of people living in poverty—and what a burden an additional expense of even something as little as \$50–\$100 can impose—it is helpful to consider a household budget for such a family. To do this, we might consider a single-parent household in which the adult earner brings in a full-time, year-round salary at minimum wage. These assumptions are realistic because data indicate that most women seeking abortions have at

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<sup>6</sup> Cawthorne, Alexandra, “The Straight Facts on Women in Poverty,” Center for American Progress Brief, October 8, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact-Finder (Iowa), “Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months, American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates., <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045216/19>.

<sup>8</sup> Finer, L.B. and Zolna, M., “Shifts in Intended and Unintended Pregnancies in the United States, 2001–2008,” 104 Am. J. of Pub. Health S43, S45 Table 1.

<sup>9</sup> Jerman, J., Jones, R.K., Onda, T., “Characteristics of Abortion Patients in 2014 and Changes Since 2008” Guttmacher Institute, 2016, available at [https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/characteristics-us-abortion-patients-2014.pdf](https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/characteristics-us-abortion-patients-2014.pdf). The Guttmacher Institute study that reports these data was based on a survey administered to a large number of patients at a carefully stratified random sample of clinics across the United States and thus these numbers can be understood to be broadly representative.

least one child<sup>10</sup> and are unmarried.<sup>11</sup> This household's income would be \$14,500, which is more than 10% below the official poverty level for a two-person household (\$16,240). A household with a total income of \$14,500 would not pay income taxes on this amount, but would pay \$1,109 in payroll (Social Security and Medicare) taxes, leaving a net income of \$13,391.

14. Sample budgets for a one-child single-parent family with this level of income illustrate how challenging, and indeed virtually impossible, it is to cover the basic costs of living on this level of income.<sup>12</sup> Budget 1 represents the situation of a one-child single-parent family that receives all available forms of state and federal aid: the federal and state Earned Income Tax Credit ("EITC"), Supplemental Nutritional Assistance ("SNAP"), Medical Assistance ("Medicaid"), and child care subsidies. Budget 2 represents the case of a one-child single-parent family that does not receive such assistance, which a significant percentage of poor families do not because of barriers to obtaining these benefits.<sup>13</sup> These two examples bracket the range of

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<sup>10</sup> Guttmacher Institute, Induced Abortion in the United States, 2017 Fact Sheet, <https://www.guttmacher.org/fact-sheet/induced-abortion-united-states>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> A number of organizations have developed what are called "basic needs budgets," defined as the income a family needs in order to attain a secure yet modest living standard, by estimating community-specific costs of housing, food, child care, transportation, health care, other necessities, and taxes. The Economic Policy Institute estimates, for example, that a single parent with one child in the Des Moines/West Des Moines, Iowa metropolitan area needs \$3,854 a month, or \$46,246 a year, to live with dignity. E. Gould et al., "Family Budget Calculator," Economic Policy Institute, <http://www.epi.org/resources/budget/> (April 2017). While this is a useful exercise, it does not explain how a large percentage of the population actually lives on far less than this amount. The example provided here is based on budgets collected from poor families by the author for a research project on transitions from welfare (see Collins, J., and Mayer, V., *Both Hands Tied: Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> Since 1996, states have been allowed to make some benefits conditional on particular behaviors, such as working, seeking work, drug and alcohol testing, marrying, etc. These "conditionalities," as well as challenges documenting income for eligibility, difficulties traveling to program offices to make an application, not having access to a computer to apply online, and difficulty reading or understanding program eligibility requirements and rules can impede participation in benefit programs. The federal government estimates that 75% of eligible households receive the Earned Income Tax Credit. United States General Accounting Office,

budgetary possibilities for families at this income level. The income and expenditure categories included in this budget are consistent with the basic family budgets developed by the Iowa Policy Project, but the expenditure estimates provided here are significantly lower for most categories.<sup>14</sup>

15. Sample Monthly Budget 1 (1 parent and 1 child living on one minimum wage salary, receiving EITC, SNAP, Medicaid, and childcare subsidies)

- \$845 for rent<sup>15</sup>
- \$200 for car payment and related expenses, including insurance
- \$150 for utilities
- \$212 food [\$312 minus \$100 in SNAP benefits]<sup>16</sup>
- \$248 for childcare [after \$401 subsidy]<sup>17</sup>
- \$50 a month for telephone service
- \$30 medical [co-pays after Medical Assistance]

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“Earned Income Tax Credit Participation.” GAO-02-290R. Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office, 2001. Nationally, the Medicaid participation rate for eligible individuals has been estimated at about 90%. U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, “Medicaid/CHIP Participation Rates,” *Available at:* <http://www.insurekidsnow.gov/facts/>

<sup>14</sup> Peter Fisher and Lily French, “The Cost of Living in Iowa—2014 Edition, Part 1: Basic Family Budgets,” The Iowa Policy Project, <http://www.iowapolicyproject.org/2014Research/140226-COL.html>

<sup>15</sup> Median fair market value for rent for a two-bedroom apartment in the Cedar Rapids Metropolitan Area, as calculated by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. . The median fair market rent in Cedar Rapids is midway between Des Moines IA (\$935) and Ames IA (\$785). Median rents in many rural counties are higher than these urban averages due to scarcity of units. Fair Market rent is the 40<sup>th</sup> percentile of gross rents for typical, non-subsidized rental units occupied by recent movers in a local housing market. U.S. Dept. of Housing & Urban Development, FY2017 Hypothetical Small Area FMRs for Cedar Rapids, IA MSA, *available at:*

[https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/fmr/fmrs/FY2017\\_code/select\\_Geography\\_sa.odn](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/fmr/fmrs/FY2017_code/select_Geography_sa.odn)

<sup>16</sup> Based on the cost of a “low-cost” food plan, as determined by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, “Official USDA Food Plan: Cost of Food at Home at Four Levels, U.S. Average,” May 2016 and the average food stamp amount per recipient in Iowa, according to the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, “Average Monthly Food Stamp Benefit per Participant, 2015,”

<http://kff.org/other/state-indicator/avg-monthly-food-stamp-benefits/?currentTimeframe=0&sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D>

<sup>17</sup> The average cost of childcare in Iowa was \$649 a month for a toddler in 2014. Andrew Ba Tran, “The Average Cost of Child Care by State,” *Boston Globe*, July 2, 2014. The average monthly state subsidy per child in Iowa is \$401 per month. Iowa Department of Human Services, “Child Care Assistance,” 2017, [http://dhs.iowa.gov/sites/default/files/18-DHS-6-3\\_CCA\\_Narrative.pdf](http://dhs.iowa.gov/sites/default/files/18-DHS-6-3_CCA_Narrative.pdf)



- \$50 personal care and household care items  
+ \$323 Federal and state EITC

**Total Expenses:** \$1,462 a month or \$17,544 annually; \$3,044 more than the annual net income from a full-time, year-round minimum wage job.

16. Sample Monthly Budget 2 (1 parent and 1 child living on one minimum wage salary, without state and federal assistance)

- \$845 for rent<sup>18</sup>  
- \$200 for car payment and related expenses, including insurance  
- \$150 for utilities  
- \$312 for food  
- \$649 for childcare  
- \$50 for telephone service  
- \$100 for medical services and prescriptions  
- \$50 for personal care and household care items

**Total Expenses:** \$2,356 per month or \$28,272 per year; \$13,772 more than the income from a full-time, year-round minimum wage job.

17. As you can see, a family living with sample budget 1 brings in \$254 less per month than their expenses require and a family living with sample monthly budget 2 brings in \$1,148 less per month than their expenses require. Moreover, the examples presented above do not consider the cost of clothing, furniture, school fees, cable, or internet service. They leave out any recreation, vacations, gifts, computer equipment, books, and children's toys whatsoever, as well as repayment of existing debt or any provision for savings. And women with more than one child or another dependent family member will face additional expenses.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, a family with only one member working full-time, year-round for minimum wage without federal and state assistance will have basic expenses that greatly exceed earnings from a minimum wage job. Clearly, a household in this situation does not bring in enough income to meet even the most

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<sup>18</sup> Same sources as previous example.

<sup>19</sup> Jerman, J., Jones, R.K., Onda, T., "Characteristics of Abortion Patients in 2014 and Changes Since 2008" Guttmacher Institute, 2016, *available at* [https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/characteristics-us-abortion-patients-2014.pdf](https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/characteristics-us-abortion-patients-2014.pdf). The Guttmacher study notes that one-third of patients had carried two or more pregnancies to term.

basic expenses for rent, food, transportation and utilities and will face dilemmas of debt, unpaid bills, eviction, and repossession of vehicles on a recurring basis. Experts have shown that families living at this level of income are especially vulnerable to “critical hardships,” such as homelessness, going without food, or going without necessary medical care.<sup>20</sup> A household that receives the full range of federal and state assistance (EITC, SNAP, Medicaid, and child care subsidies) will likely face fewer such crises. But such a household still will regularly go without basic necessities to make ends meet, because, as noted previously, the budgets outlined above do not provide sufficient income and do not account for emergencies, such as the breakdown of a car or lost wages due to illness.

18. Families at this level of income are living on the very edge of subsistence. Simply put, any additional expense, even those that involve what seem like relatively small dollar income amounts to middle-income people, can make an extraordinary difference in their lives. For these families, paying for such additional expenses can mean that there is not enough food to eat in the house, that the family cannot pay their utility bills (thus risking the shut off of essential services), or that the family falls behind on their rent payments (putting them at risk for eviction).

### ***Burdens Associated with the Act***

19. To comply with the Act, women who seek an abortion will need to make an additional trip to one of the eight cities where abortions are available. Up to the tenth week of pregnancy Imp, a woman can receive medication abortion services at clinics in Sioux City, Council Bluffs, Ames, Des Moines, Cedar Falls, Iowa City, Davenport, or Burlington. After the tenth week of pregnancy Imp, a woman can receive surgical abortion services in only two locations: Des Moines and Iowa City. In this affidavit, I use the example of a woman living in

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<sup>20</sup> Boushey, H., Brocht, C., Gunderson, G., and Bernstein, J., “Hardships in America: The Real Story of Working Families,” Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute, 2001.

Ottumwa, IA, a town of 25,000 people in Wapello County, and part of a reporting area that posts a rate of induced abortion near the median for the state. For this woman, the closest location to receive abortion services is Des Moines, a distance of 168 miles round trip. Under the Act, this woman must make two trips to the clinic, at least 72 hours apart. I calculate only the additional costs that would be imposed by the Act on a woman in this situation—that is, the costs of the second trip to the clinic.

20. In this affidavit, I also use the example of a woman from Sioux City, Iowa who is nearly 8 weeks pregnant and seeking a medication abortion and for whom the first available appointment is two weeks from the date of calling the clinic. The most recent available vital statistics report for the state of Iowa reports that 54% of abortions in the state in 2014–15 were medically induced.<sup>21</sup> It is my understanding, based on information provided by Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, that 63% of abortions provided at their facilities from April 1, 2016 to March 31, 2017 were medically induced. According to PPH, more than 600 women received medically induced abortions in week 9 or 10 of their pregnancy. PPH also reports that clinics throughout Iowa are currently scheduling appointments one to three weeks from the time of the initial request for services. By doubling the number of appointments required to receive services, the Act will increase this waiting period and some women will not be able to see a clinician until they are past the tenth week of their pregnancy. In the example above, if the woman's appointment is delayed by even one week, she would need to travel to one of two cities where surgical abortion is available." For women in 70 of Iowa's 99 counties, this would involve traveling a greater, and in some cases much greater, distance to receive abortion services. In this example, if we assume that the woman from Sioux City is able to schedule the preliminary

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<sup>21</sup> Iowa Department of Public Health, Bureau of Health Statistics, 2015 Vital Statistics of Iowa, Table 50, p. 131.

ultrasound and other services at the Sioux City clinic, she would then need to travel, after at least 72 hours, to the Des Moines clinic for a surgical abortion. This would entail an additional 400 miles of travel (round trip) beyond what she would have traveled to receive a medication abortion closer to home. Exhibit B provides data on additional travel distances that would be required from the 70 Iowa counties where this situation pertains. Again, I calculate only the additional costs imposed by the Act, that is, the cost of this additional trip.

21. Traveling long distances presents particular burdens for low-income women that will make it difficult for all and impossible for many low-income women in Iowa to make the additional out-of-town trip needed to receive an abortion under the Act. These burdens include arranging and paying for additional transportation, the ability to arrange for time off from work, lost wages, and arranging and paying for child care. I discuss each of these below.

#### *1. Transportation/Hotel*

22. The Act will require substantial additional travel, creating logistical and financial difficulties for many poor and low-income Iowa women.

23. The scenarios outlined assume that a woman is able to drive to Des Moines or Iowa City to receive abortion services. However, for a number of reasons, many low-income women in Iowa will not be able to make this trip by car. A significant number of low-income women live in a household with no car at all or do not have access to a car, especially one suitable for a long trip. Researchers have found strong income disparities in car ownership. A 2006 study found that 4% of individuals in Des Moines and 6% of individuals in Sioux City lived in households that did not have access to a car,<sup>22</sup> and these individuals are almost

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<sup>22</sup> Berube, A., E. Deakin, and S. Raphael, "Socio-economic Differences in Household Automobile Ownership Rates," University of California Transportation Center Working Papers, Table 1, June 2006, available at: [www.socrates.berkeley.edu/~raphael/BerubeDeakinRaphael.pdf](http://www.socrates.berkeley.edu/~raphael/BerubeDeakinRaphael.pdf). It is important to remember that 4–6% is the percentage of the overall population. If we assume

exclusively poor and low-income. Even those low-income women who live in a household with a car may not have ready access to the car such that they can take two round trips out of town within a week. In poor and low-income families there are often competing demands for the car because other family members need it to get to work or to school and therefore the car is unavailable to the woman. Moreover, those low-income women who do have access to a car may not have one that is functioning or that is suitable for a several hour drive. They may be reluctant to borrow a car because they do not want to disclose to a partner or family members that they are seeking an abortion. This unwillingness to disclose the purpose of the trip may be motivated by a desire for privacy or a wish to avoid conflict or even violence. According to the non-profit “Working Cars for Working Families Project” run by the National Consumer Law Center, “Used cars marketed to working families are often in poor repair and have mechanical defects. Frequently these cars have suffered previous undisclosed damage from traffic collisions or floods. All too often used cars are not only unreliable, but unsafe.”<sup>23</sup> Reasonable fears of vehicle breakdown are a significant deterrent to long-distance travel, particularly during the winter months in Iowa. Thus, for many low-income women, travel by car to a distant clinic will not be a realistic option. However, the following scenarios outline the costs (in terms of transportation and time only) that trips to Des Moines from Ottumwa and from Sioux County would entail.

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that poor individuals are disproportionately unable to access automobiles, then the percentage of lack of access among the poor would be significantly higher. Data broken down by poverty status is not available however.

<sup>23</sup> National Consumer Law Center, Working Cars for Working Families Project, “Dangerous and Unreliable Vehicles,” available at: <http://www.workingcarsforworkingfamilies.org/promoting-improved-public-policy/dangerous-and-unreliable-vehicles>.

24. Example 1. Scenario 1. Additional trip - Ottumwa to Des Moines by car

Assuming 84 miles each way or 168 additional miles  
Assuming 20 miles per gallon<sup>24</sup> and gasoline costs of \$2.40<sup>25</sup>  
Additional cost of transportation: \$20.16  
Additional travel time: 3 hours

25. Example 2. Scenario 1. Additional trip - Sioux City to Des Moines by car

Assuming 200 miles each way or 400 additional miles  
Assuming 20 miles per gallon<sup>26</sup> and gasoline costs of \$2.40<sup>27</sup>  
Additional cost of transportation: \$48.00  
Additional time: 7-8 hours

26. For the significant percentage of women who cannot make this trip by car, their only option is public transportation. For the woman in Example 1, traveling from Ottumwa to Des Moines, the only regular bus is a Burlington Trailways. The only scheduled trip leaves Ottumwa at 4:05 pm and arrives in Des Moines at 5:35 pm. The return trip leaves Des Moines for Ottumwa at 8:55 am the next morning, arriving at 10:25 am. Given clinic hours, this option would require spending two nights in Des Moines (a three-day trip). The woman traveling from Sioux City to Des Moines would need to take a Jefferson Lines Bus to Council Bluffs and transfer to a Burlington Trailways connecting to Des Moines. This bus leaves at 2:30 pm, arriving in Des Moines at 10:55 pm. The return bus leaves Des Moines at 11:15 pm arriving in

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<sup>24</sup> The average mileage per gallon of U.S. cars in early 2013 was 24.6. This figure includes hybrid vehicles and is weighted toward a newer stock of cars. Those available to poor individuals are likely to get fewer miles per gallon because they are older and in poor repair. ("Average Fuel Economy of U.S. Cars Reaches an All-Time High," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 6, 2013, <http://www.csmonitor.com/Business/In-Gear/2013/0406/Average-fuel-economy-of-US-cars-reaches-an-all-time-high>); for a discussion of the lower mileage obtained by older cars in poor repair, see U.S. Dept. of Energy, "Keeping Your Vehicle In Shape," [www.fueleconomy.gov/feg/maintain.jsp](http://www.fueleconomy.gov/feg/maintain.jsp).

<sup>25</sup> American Automobile Association, "Gas Prices," April 29, 2017 *available at*: <http://gasprices.aaa.com>.

<sup>26</sup> See footnote 23.

<sup>27</sup> See footnote 24.

Sioux City at 7:50 am. This would also require a three-day trip. These are not realistic options for low-income women given the need to take time off work and find childcare. Paragraphs 29 and 30 present the scenarios for these two women.

27. While most sizeable towns in Iowa have some access to daily intercity bus service, the number of trips and options are often limited, as this example suggests. Also, as Exhibit C indicates, there are many counties that are not regularly served. In this case, a woman could only access public transportation to Des Moines or Iowa City by getting a ride to a major town.

28. An additional obstacle for a woman using public transportation who needs to stay overnight in the town where abortion services are provided is the fact that many poor and low-income individuals do not have credit cards and are thus unable to book a room.<sup>28</sup>

29. Example 1. Scenario 2. Additional trip - Ottumwa to Des Moines by bus

Round-trip bus fare: \$60

Two night stay at budget motel in Des Moines:  $\$74 \times 2 = 148$

Additional cost: \$208

Additional time: 3 days

30. Example 2. Scenario 2. Additional trip – Sioux City to Des Moines by bus

Round trip bus fare:  $\$64 + \$61 = \$125$

Two night stay at budget motel in Des Moines:  $\$74 \times 2 = \$148$

Additional cost: \$273

Additional time: 3 days

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<sup>28</sup> Klawitter, M. and Morgan-Cross, C., “Assets, Credit Use and Debt of Low-Income Households,” unpublished paper, Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington, Table 4, May, 2012. Data derived from Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA), “National Financial Capability Survey,” 2009. [http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205\\_23\\_12.pdf](http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205_23_12.pdf). This study finds that among families with less than \$25,000 in annual income, fewer than 40% have credit cards.

31. The costs listed in the scenarios above are just the additional dollar amounts associated with transportation and hotel. As detailed below, however, these dollar amounts are only the tip of the iceberg when considering the total burdens the Act imposes.

## *2. Time Away from Work*

32. For many working poor women in Iowa, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to take additional time away from work in order to make the additional trip required by the Act, particularly if an overnight stay is entailed. For those women who are able to take time off from work, the additional travel and time away will result in lost wages and increase the risk of employer sanctions and/or job loss.

33. Low-wage workers are the least likely to have access to paid sick days or personal days and are therefore more likely than other workers to lose pay when they are sick or require health care services. Only one-third of U.S. workers whose average wage is in the lowest 25% have paid sick leave. For those whose average wage is in the lowest 10%, the figure is 1 in 5. These are national averages; according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, mid-western workers were slightly less likely than those in other regions to have paid sick days.<sup>29</sup>

34. Even getting unpaid time off from work can be difficult for low-wage workers. More than a third of all individuals classified as working poor in the U.S. are employed in the service sector, and women are more heavily represented in this sector than men.<sup>30</sup> Their top occupations include: cashiers, cooks, cleaning staff, health and personal care aides, wait staff, drivers, retail workers, personal care aides, child care workers, and food preparation workers.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Employee Benefits in the United States 2013,” Table 6, July 2013. <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/ebs.pdf>.

<sup>30</sup> U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, “A Profile of the Working Poor, 2010,” Report released March 2012, p. 3. <http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpswp2010.pdf>.

<sup>31</sup> Wicks-Lim, J., “The Working Poor: A Booming Demographic,” *New Labor Forum* 21(3): 17-25, 2012, p. 21.



These jobs are more likely than others to entail non-standard and irregular work hours, including non-fixed working schedules that require the worker to be on call.<sup>32</sup> This makes it difficult for workers in these jobs to schedule appointments of any kind, particularly those requiring an extended absence or more than one absence in a week.

35. In addition, individuals employed in low-wage service sector jobs face severe consequences for taking time off work, as low-wage service sector jobs have some of the labor market's strictest work rules. Labor market analysts studying the service sector have reported that: "Parents were unable to miss a shift without losing pay or even their employment. Their jobs tended to have strict start times and even tardiness had serious consequences."<sup>33</sup> In addition, many employers require workers to explain why they need time off, or to bring a doctor's note, particularly when workers are taking multiple days off. The extra time off that travel requires can make it even more difficult for a low-income woman to keep her abortion confidential from her employer.

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<sup>32</sup> Presser, H. B., and Cox, A.G., "The Work Schedules of Low-Educated American Women and Welfare Reform," *Monthly Labor Review* 120(4), 1997; Dodson, L., and Bravo, E., "When There is No Time or Money: Work, Family, and Community Lives of Low-Income Families, pp. 122-54 in Beem, C., and Heymann, J., eds., *Unfinished Work: Building Democracy & Equality in an Era of Working Families*," New York: New Press, 2005; Sheely, A., "Work Characteristics and Family Routines in Low-Wage Families," *J. of Sociology and Social Welfare* 37(3):59-77, 2010; Lambert, S. J., Haley-Lock, A., & Henly, J. R. Schedule Flexibility in Hourly Jobs: Unanticipated Consequences and Promising Directions. *Community, Work & Family*, 15(3), 293-315. 2012; Lambert, S. J. Making a Difference for Hourly Employees, pp. 169-196. *Worklife Policies*, Crouter, A. C. & Booth, A., Eds., Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2009; Henly, J. R., Shaefer, H. L., and Waxman, E., Nonstandard Work Schedules: Employer- and Employee-Driven Flexibility in Retail Jobs, *Social Service Review*, Vol. 80, No. 4, pp. 609-634, December 2006.

<sup>33</sup> Chaudry, A., Pedroza, J., and Sandstrom, H., "How Employment Constraints Affect Low-Income Working Parents' Child Care Decisions," Urban Institute Brief No. 23, February 2012 (<http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412513-How-Employment-Constraints-Affect-Low-Income-Working-Parents-Child-Care-Decisions.pdf>); see also Acs, G., and Loprest, P., "Low-Skill Jobs, Work Hours, and Paid Time Off," Urban Institute Brief No. 2., November 2008, p. 3 ([http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411802\\_work\\_hours\\_pto.pdf](http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411802_work_hours_pto.pdf)).

36. As demonstrated in the above scenarios, the Act will require women to miss more work than required previously. When considering missed time from work, we must consider how much work the woman must miss as a result of travel, including the complexities of bus schedules if she is using public transportation, as well as the appointment itself.

37. The 2016 minimum wage in Iowa is \$7.25 an hour.<sup>34</sup> In the first scenario of Example 1 above (Ottumwa to Des Moines by car), if we consider the travel time and the time required for the appointment, a woman is likely to lose 5 hours of work, or \$36.25. In the first scenario of Example 2 (Sioux City to Des Moines by car), she will need to forego at least 8 hours in wages or \$58. In both scenarios that entail taking a bus, the woman would lose three days of work and \$174 in income.

38. In addition, a woman seeking an additional, unscheduled day off from work, and perhaps two days off from work in a week, is at great risk of disciplinary action or job loss. If a woman were fired for missing a shift or for requesting additional time off, this would result in major economic disruption for her and her family. Losing a job can lead to missed utility bill payments and service cut-offs; it can lead to families going without enough food or necessary medical care; and it can lead to missed rent payments, hunger, and ultimately to homelessness. Once a person enters homelessness, it can become significantly harder for him or her to obtain new employment, further entrenching the cycle of poverty.

### *3. Child Care*

39. The additional travel time or overnight stay required by the Act will also create childcare dilemmas for some women seeking abortion services, will increase the cost of child

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<sup>34</sup> U.S. Dept. of Labor, Iowa Minimum Wage Rates, <http://www.dol.gov/whd/minwage/america.htm#Iowa>.

care for women who use paid childcare, and will prevent some women from obtaining an abortion at all.

40. Given the significant travel times associated with using public transportation to travel out of town, it may be difficult for a low-income woman to find a friend or family member who can care for her child for the entire time she will be away, because, as I explain further below, low-income women have friends and family members who are also resource poor and working in low-waged jobs and thus may not be able to care for a child for several hours, or even days. Thus it is very likely that low-income women who will be away for an extended period of time will need to resort to childcare on the marketplace.

41. Indeed, researchers report that women who must pay for childcare during the time that they are receiving abortion services pay an average of \$57.<sup>35</sup> The woman in Example 1 who has access to a car and makes an extra trip from Ottumwa to Des Moines will require at least 5 additional hours of childcare (3 hours of driving without traffic and 2 hours for her clinic visit). The woman in Example 2 who has access to a car and travels from Sioux City to Des Moines and back will require at least 10 additional hours of child care. The cost of childcare is approximately \$5.00 per hour.<sup>36</sup> The additional childcare costs for these women will therefore be, at minimum, \$25.00 and \$50.

42. In the event that a low-income woman does not have access to a car that can be used for an additional long-distance trip, and needs to use public transportation, the trip will require at least 3 days' absence. If a woman must stay overnight for one or more nights in order to obtain an abortion and does not have friends or family who are able to care for her children in

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<sup>35</sup> Jones, R. K., Upadhyay, U. D., and Weitz, T., "At What Cost? Payment for Abortion Care by U.S. Women," *Women's Health Issues* 23(3): 3173-3178, May 2013, p. 10.

<sup>36</sup> IowaChildCare.net, "Iowa Child Care Rates," <http://www.iowachildcare.net/childcare-rates.php>

her absence, she will likely be unable to obtain her abortion. There are simply no market solutions for a woman in this situation. Although there are overnight daycares in some cities, they are time limited—usually to 11 PM and 7 AM—and a child cannot stay there for extended periods of time. Indeed, a daycare center is likely unwilling to (or even prohibited from) care for a child for more than eight hours.

#### *4. Summary of Additional Costs for Women Affected by the New Law*

43. Individual cases will vary, but the numbers and discussion presented above show the following additional costs:

Example 1, Scenario 1 (Ottumwa-Des Moines by car): \$20.16 (transportation) + \$36.25 (lost wages) + \$25.00 (child care) = \$81.41

Example 1, Scenario 2: (Ottumwa-Des Moines by bus): \$208 (transportation and hotel) + \$174 (lost wages) = \$382.00<sup>37</sup>

Example 2, Scenario 1: (Sioux City-Des Moines by car): \$48 (transportation) + \$58 (lost wages) + \$50.00 (child care) = \$156.00

Example 2, Scenario 2: (Sioux City-Des Moines by bus): \$273 (transportation and hotel) + \$174 (lost wages) = \$447.00<sup>38</sup>

This is not the full cost of obtaining an abortion, but the *additional* financial cost (for the additional mileage, additional lost work time, additional child care, etc.) beyond what a woman would have incurred prior to the Act. And it does not consider the cost of the abortion itself.

44. The total additional cost required for a woman to travel outside her hometown for her pre-abortion visit may not seem great to someone with a middle class income, but it is an extremely significant expense for those living in poverty. In light of the sample budgets

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<sup>37</sup> Does not include cost of paid childcare, since it is not likely to be available.

<sup>38</sup> See footnote 35.

presented in paragraphs 15 and 16, adding even \$100 to the already significant cost of an abortion represents a substantial burden. As the budgets outlined above demonstrate, a family that receives all available benefits still does not have enough to meet all of its expenses. At the higher end of the range of possible costs, the added expense would represent almost an entire month of income, a sum that could not simply be absorbed, but would represent a major financial shock and setback.

45. Importantly, these additional costs apply only to those women who are even able to access abortion after the Act goes into effect. First, as explained above, a woman with children and no car, unless she has friends or family who are able to care for her children, is very unlikely to be able to make the additional trip and will therefore be prevented from obtaining an abortion. These low-income women—those with children and without family or friends with resources to support them—and their families are perhaps those who will be most adversely affected by lack of access to abortion. In addition, it may take women some time to pull together the resources they need. This delay, combined with the delays created by the Act as clinics seek to schedule additional visits per procedure for every abortion patient, may make it impossible for some poor women to arrange services before the gestational age limit imposed by the Act.

46. The financial burdens presented by the Act are not just an issue of how a low-income woman must spend her cash for a given month. Many low-income women simply do not have money on hand, such that even if they were willing to forego other necessities, they simply may not be able to pay for a bus ticket, extra gas, a hotel, or childcare. This is due to the fact that low-income women have few good options for obtaining the extra cash that they need through the mainstream banking system. According to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), 22% of low-income households (which they defined as making under

\$15,000 a year) are “unbanked” and half are “under-banked.” This means that members of these households conduct some or all of their financial transactions outside the mainstream banking system. All under-banked and 65% of unbanked families rely on what are called “alternative financial services” (non-bank money orders, non-bank check cashing services, pay-day loans, prepaid non-bank debit cards, etc.).<sup>39</sup> Few of these families have savings accounts of any kind. Among families with less than \$25,000 in annual income, fewer than 40% have credit cards.<sup>40</sup> What this means is that most low-income individuals do not have access to short-term loans through mainstream banking channels and do not have the option of charging expenses to a credit card.

47. Should these individuals turn to alternative financial services for short-term loans, they face extraordinary fees. A 2012 report authored by two members of the Federal Reserve Board presented the following common practice among so-called “pay day lenders”: a short-term loan service charges a fee of \$17.50 for every \$100 loaned. Because the term is so short, a \$400 loan, for example, over a four-week period with a \$70 fee generates an implicit annual interest rate of 450%. If an individual cannot pay at the end of four weeks and rolls the loan over, they can become trapped in a debt spiral from which it is difficult to extricate themselves.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), “2011 FDIC National Survey of Unbanked and Underbanked Households,” September 2012, [http://www.fdic.gov/householdsurvey/2012\\_unbankedreport.pdf](http://www.fdic.gov/householdsurvey/2012_unbankedreport.pdf).

<sup>40</sup> Klawitter, M. and Morgan-Cross, C., “Assets, Credit Use and Debt of Low-Income Households,” unpublished paper, Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington, Table 4, May, 2012. Data derived from Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA), “National Financial Capability Survey,” 2009. [http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205\\_23\\_12.pdf](http://depts.washington.edu/wcpc/sites/default/files/papers/Credit%20andDebt%205_23_12.pdf).

<sup>41</sup> Gross, M. B., Hogarth, J. M., Manohar, A., and Gallegos, S., “Who Uses Alternative Financial Services and Why?” *Consumer Interests Annual* 58, 2012, available at <http://www.consumerinterests.org/assets/docs/CIA/CIA2012/2012-57%20who%20uses%20alternative%20financial%20services%20and%20why.pdf>.

48. Another option available to low-income women seeking resources to meet these expenses is to borrow from family and friends. One study reported that 50% of all women seeking abortion services relied on someone else to help them cover costs, most commonly the man involved in the pregnancy (nearly two-thirds of instances), but also friends and family.<sup>42</sup> However, as one social services case worker pointed out in a recent study of women living in poverty:

These are resource-poor people . . . You know, if I have a problem, I get on the phone, I call my relatives, I call a friend, I borrow a car—whatever it is. I’ve got backup all over. Poor people have other poor people for friends, so their systems are resource-poor.<sup>43</sup>

Partners and family networks may not always have the resources to assist with the costs involved and tapping those networks results in a loss of privacy. An additional difficulty may result when women need to request aid from sexual partners who are not supportive of their decision to obtain an abortion or who have a history of abusive or violent behavior. This strategy can be extremely dangerous, in light of the high rate of domestic violence among low-income women, and may result in the partner attempting to prevent her from obtaining the procedure and/or in episodes of violence.

49. A third strategy that low-income women may use to cover abortion-related costs is to not pay other bills. Results from a survey of women seeking abortion found that many women—one-third of the study sample—delayed paying or did not pay bills in order to have money to pay for their abortion. One third of women in this study said that they delayed paying electricity bills, insurance bills, or car payments, while close to one-sixth said that they did not

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<sup>42</sup> Jones, et al., “At What Cost?” op. cit., p. 9-10, 21.

<sup>43</sup> Collins and Mayer, op. cit., p. 84.

buy food or pay rent.<sup>44</sup> The consequence of not paying a utility bill is having that service disconnected. The consequence of not paying rent may be eviction.

### *5. Intangible Costs*

50. Monetary costs do not fully reflect the burdens of travelling farther and being away from home longer for low-income women. Intangible costs and burdens—the stress of travel to unfamiliar parts of the state, the difficulties encountered in trying to keep the reason for the travel confidential from one’s employer or an abusive partner—can just as effectively prevent low income women from exercising their right to obtain an abortion. I am familiar with these difficulties through my independent research and my review of the relevant literature.

51. Additional trips (or overnight stays) can also magnify stress and worry for women attempting to obtain an abortion. When women must organize more complex and lengthy trips, and when they need to rely on parents, spouses, or friends for assistance under those circumstances, it become more difficult to obtain an abortion without a parent, spouse, or friend finding out about the procedure. The more complex and costly the arrangements required, and the more time that a person must spend traveling to the clinic, the greater the chances that confidentiality surrounding the procedure will be sacrificed.

52. The fact that financial, logistical, and psychological burdens can delay or prevent low-income women from obtaining an abortion has been well documented by women’s health researchers. One study reported:

For women pulling together money to pay for the procedure as well as transportation and missed work, these relatively small amounts can prove impossible to procure and could prevent women from obtaining a wanted abortion.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Jones et al., “At What Cost?” op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Jones et al., “At What Cost?” op cit., p. 12–13.



A second study noted that difficulty financing an abortion was a significant factor leading women to delay seeking abortion services, resulting in more dangerous and costly second trimester abortions.<sup>46</sup>

### *Conclusion*

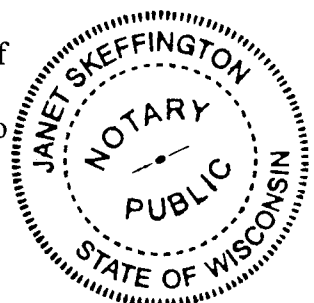
53. Poor and low-income women living in Iowa will face extraordinary challenges meeting the additional financial, logistical, and psychological costs as a result of having to make an additional trip to a clinic; where the logistics of this trip delay an abortion past the tenth week, they will not only lose the option of a medically induced abortion but will need to travel what are often much longer distances to reach a clinic that performs surgical abortions. This not only entails having to travel longer distances, but will also require them to be away from home (and jobs and children) for longer periods of time. For the many low-income women who need child care or who will lose income because they do not have paid sick days (or will even lose their job because they cannot take unpaid leave), as well as for those who do not have access to a car and will have to rely on public transportation, the additional cost and time required for this travel may pose an insurmountable challenge. Some will not be able to obtain an abortion. Other women may be delayed in trying to gather the resources to do so. In sum, as a result of the Act, a significant number of poor and low-income women will no longer be able to obtain the abortions they seek or will be delayed in doing so.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true.

Dated: May 3, 2017

Janet Skeffington

Jane Collins  
Jane Collins, PhD



*Janet Skeffington*  
my commission  
expires  
6/12/2020

<sup>46</sup> Foster, D. G., Jackson, R. A., Cosby, K., Weitz, T. A., Darney, P. D., and Drey, E. A., "Predictors of Delay in Each Step Leading to an Abortion," *Contraception* 77(4):289-93, 2008.

# EXHIBIT A

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***EDUCATION***

- 1981 Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Florida  
Graduate certificate in Latin American Studies  
“*Kinship and Seasonal Migration among the Aymara of Southern Peru*”  
1978 M.A., Latin American Studies, University of Florida  
1976 B.A. with distinction, University of Virginia, Anthropology.

***ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT***

- 2000- Professor, Community & Environmental Sociology, UW-Madison  
Faculty Affiliate, Institute for Research on Poverty  
Faculty Affiliate, Robert M. La Follette School of Public Affairs  
1994 - 2000 Professor, Sociology and Women's Studies, UW-Madison  
1992 - 1994 Associate Professor, Sociology and Women's Studies, UW- Madison  
[Joint appointment with Department of Gender & Women's Studies 1992-2014,  
Chair of GWS 2004-2007 and 2010-2013]  
1991 - 1992 Associate Professor, Anthropology, State University of New York, Binghamton  
1983 - 1991 Assistant Professor, Anthropology, SUNY-Binghamton  
1981 - 1982 Visiting Assistant Professor, Social Sciences, Georgia Inst. of Technology

***AWARDS AND HONORS***

- 2015 Hilldale Award (Social Studies), University of Wisconsin-Madison  
2014 Resident Fellow, Rockefeller Center at Bellagio, October-November 2014  
2008 Society for the Anthropology of North America Prize for Distinguished Achievement  
in the Critical Study of North America.  
2006 - 11 Evjue Bascom Professorship, University of Wisconsin  
2004 - 09 Kellett Mid-Career Award, UW-Madison Graduate School  
1997 - 98 Department of Sociology, UW-Madison, Award for Excellence in Teaching  
1995, 1999 Graduate School Research Awards, UW-Madison  
1996 - 98 Vilas Associate Award, UW-Madison  
1987, '88, '91 SUNY Research Foundation Awards  
1978 Graduate Council Fellowship, University of Florida  
1976 Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Echols Scholar, Univ. of Virginia

***RESEARCH PROJECTS***

- 2013-15 *Rethinking Value: Conflicts over Market Value in the Contemporary U.S.* National  
Science Foundation.  
2004-07 *Farm Work, Off-Farm Employment and Family Care: How Wisconsin Farm Families  
Combine Work in Three Spheres.* U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Hatch Grant.

- 2003-06 *Family Networks and Livelihood in the Context of Welfare Reform.*  
UW Institute for Research on Poverty, Wisconsin Dept. of Workforce Development.
- 2000-03 *Technology & Apparel Service Jobs in Rural Labor Markets.* USDA Hatch Grant.
- 1999-01 *Changes in Work in the Post-Fordist Era: A Case Study of the Apparel Industry in Southern Virginia.* National Science Foundation, UW Graduate School.
- 1997-98 *Work, Gender and Social Regulation.* Vilas Associate Award, UW Graduate School.
- 1995 *A Comparative Analysis of Gendered Labor Force Participation in Commercial Agriculture: Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia.* UW Graduate School.
- 1991-93 *Contract Farming and Family Labor Process in Northeastern Brazil.*  
National Science Foundation, SUNY Research Foundation.
- 1988-91 *The Cultural Meaning of Cultural Difference: Ethnocentrism in the United States.*  
National Science Foundation, SUNY Research Foundation (with Catherine Lutz).
- 1979-80 *Kinship and Seasonal Migration among the Aymara of Huancané, Puno, Peru.*  
Inter-American Foundation.
- 1977 *The Impact of Agrarian Reform on Peruvian Peasant Communities.*  
Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida.

## **LANGUAGES**

Spanish, Portuguese, French, Aymara

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Books**

- 2017 *The Politics of Value: Three Movements to Change How We Think about the Economy,*  
University of Chicago Press.
- 2010 *Both Hands Tied: Gender, Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market,* University of Chicago Press (w/ Victoria Mayer)
- 2011 Outstanding Book Award from Inequality, Mobility and Poverty section of the American Sociological Association
  - 2011 Outstanding Book Award from the Labor & Labor Movements section of the American Sociological Association
  - Sarah Whaley Book Prize, National Women's Studies Assoc.
- 2003 *Threads: Gender, Labor & Power in the Global Apparel Industry,* University of Chicago Press
- 1993 *Reading National Geographic,* University of Chicago Press (w/ Catherine Lutz)

- 1988            *Unseasonal Migration: The Effects of Rural Labor Scarcity in Peru*, Princeton University Press.

### **Edited Books**

- 2008            (with Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams) *New Landscapes of Inequality: Neoliberalism and the Erosion of Democracy in America*, ed., Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
- 1990            (with Martha Gimenez) *Work without Wages: Comparative Studies of Domestic Labor and Self-Employment*, ed., Albany: State Univ. of New York Press.
- 1988            (with Joan Smith, Terence Hopkins and Akbar Muhammad) *Racism and Sexism in the World Economy*, ed., Greenwood Press. Studies in the Political Economy of the World System.
- 1987            (with Eduardo Bedoya and Michael Painter) *Estrategias productivas y recursos naturales en la Amazonía*. Lima: Centro de Investigación y Promoción Amazónica.

### **Articles in Refereed Journals/Book Chapters**

- 2017            State Phobia, Then and Now: Three Waves of Conflict over Wisconsin's Public Sector, 1930-2013, submitted to *Social Science History* (with Jake Carlson), forthcoming
- 2016            The Hijacking of a New Corporate Form? Benefit Corporations and Corporate Personhood," *Economy & Society*, 45 (3-4): 325-49 (with Walker Kahn).
- 2016            Expanding the Labor Theory of Value, *Dialectical Anthropology* 40 (2): 103-123.
- 2015            Walmart, American Consumer Citizenship, and the Erasure of Class. Pp. 89-101 in *Anthropologies of Class: Power, Practice, and Inequality*, eds. James Carrier and Donald Kalb, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- 2014            Reclaiming the Local in Movements against Inequality: A View from the U.S. *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 38(4): 52-55.
- 2013            A Feminist Approach to Overcoming the Closed Boxes of the Commodity Chain. Pp. 27-37 in *Gendered Commodity Chains: Seeing Women's Work and Households in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Global Production*, Wilma Dunaway, ed. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press.
- 2012            Theorizing Wisconsin's 2011 Protests: Community-Based Unionism Confronts Accumulation by Dispossession. *Amer. Ethnologist* 39 (1): 1-15.
- 2011            Wal-Mart, American Consumer Citizenship, and the 2008 Recession. *Focaal: Journal of Global & Historical Anthropology* 61: 107-116.
- What Difference Does Financial Expansion Make? *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 18(1): 39-46.

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- 2009 America in the Age of Wal-Mart, pp. 97-112 in *The Insecure American*, Catherine Bestemann and Hugh Gusterson, eds. Univ. of California Press.
- One Big Labor Market: The New Imperialism and Worker Vulnerability, pp. 280-99 in *Rethinking America:: The Imperial Landscape of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century United States*, Jeff Maskovsky and Ida Susser, eds. NY: Paradigm Press.
- 2008 The Paradox of Poverty in the Transition from Welfare to Work. *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center, special issue in memory of Joan Smith) 30(4): 283-311.
- The Specter of Slavery: Workfare and the Economic Citizenship of Poor Women, Pp. 131-53 in *New Landscapes of Inequality*, Jane Collins, Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams, eds. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.
- 2007 The Rise of a Global Garment Industry and the Reimagination of Worker Solidarity. *Critique of Anthropology* 27(4): 395-409.
- 2006 (with Amy Quark) Globalizing Firms and Small Communities: The Apparel Industry's Connection to Rural Labor Markets. *Rural Sociology* 71(2):281-310.
- Redefining the Boundaries of Work: Apparel Workers and Community Unionism in the Global Economy. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 13:9-31.
- 2005 New Directions in Commodity Chain Analysis of Global Development Processes. In *New Directions in the Sociology of Rural Development*, Philip McMichael, ed., Special edition of *Research in Rural Sociology and Development* 11:1-15.
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Marxism Confronts the Environment: Labor, Ecology and Environmental Change. In *Understanding Economic Process*, Sutti Ortiz and Susan Lees, eds. Pp. 179-188. New York: Univ. Press of America.

- 1992      Becoming America's Lens on the World: *National Geographic* in the 20th Century. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, issue on "Writing Cultural Criticism" 91(1): 161-192, (w/ Catherine Lutz).  
  
    Reprinted in *Eloquent Obsessions*, ed. by Marianna Torgovnick. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1993.]
- 1991      Housework and Craftwork Within Capitalism: Marxist Analyses of Unwaged Labor. In *Marxist Approaches in Economic Anthropology*, Alice Littlefield and Hill Gates, eds. Pp. 90-105. New York: Univ. Press of America.  
  
    Women & the Environment: Social Reproduction & Sustainable Development. *Women & Development Ann. Rev.* 2, Rita Gallin and Anne Ferguson, eds. Pp. 33-58. Boulder: Westview.  
  
    The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of *National Geographic*. *Visual Anthropology Rev.* 4:2-17 (w/ Catherine Lutz).  
  
    Reprinted in *Visualizing Theory*, Lucien Taylor, ed. New York: Routledge; in *Looking for America: A Reader's Guide to the Ritual Making and Remaking of People and Nation*, Rosemary Osmond, ed. Oxford: Bradstreet Publishers;  
  
    Reprinted in *Rhetorical Visions: Writing and Reading in a Visual Culture*, Wendy Hesford and Brenda Brueggemann, eds. Ohio State Univ. Press, 2005.
- 1990      (w/ Michael Painter) Reconstructing Ethnicity as Class: The Tawantinsuyu Uprising of Southern Peru. In *Looking Through the Kaleidoscope: Essays in Honor of Charles Wagley*, *Florida Journal of Anthropology*, special publication no. 6.  
  
    Unwaged Labor in Comparative Perspective: Recent Theories and Unanswered Questions. In *Work Without Wages: Comparative Studies of Domestic Labor and Self-Employment*, Jane Collins and Martha Gimenez, eds. Albany: SUNY Press.  
  
    Native Americans, Politics, and Frontiers. *Reviews in Anthropology* 15:81-89.
- 1989      Small Farmer Responses to Environmental Change: Coffee Production in the Peruvian High Selva. In *The Human Ecology of Tropical Land Settlement in Latin America*. Debra Schumann and William Partridge, eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- 1987      Labor Scarcity and Ecological Change. In *Lands at Risk in the Third World*. Peter Little and Michael Horowitz, eds. Pp. 13-29. Boulder: Westview Press.
- 1986      Reply to Cohen's Comment on 'Smallholder Settlement..'. *Human Organization* 45(4): 360-363.  
  
    The Household and Relations of Production in Southern Peru. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28(4): 651-71.  
  
    Smallholder Settlement of Tropical South America: The Social Causes of Ecological



Destruction. *Human Organization* 45(1): 1-10.

Reprinted in *Developing Areas: A Book of Readings and Research*, ed by Vijayan K. Pillai and Lyle W. Shannon. Pp. 453-67. Oxford: Berg, 1993.

1985 Migration and the Family Life Cycle in Peru. *Urban Anthropology* 14(4):279-300.

1984 The Maintenance of Peasant Coffee Production. *Amer. Ethnologist* 11(3):413- 38.

1983 Fertility Determinants in a High Andes Community. *Population & Development Rev.* 9(1):61-75

Seasonal Migration as a Cultural Response to Energy Scarcity at High Altitude. *Current Anthropology* 24(1): 103-4.

Translation Traditions and the Organization of Productive Activity. In *Bilingualism: Social Issues and Policy Implications*. Andrew W. Miracle, ed. Pp. 11-22. Univ. of Georgia Press.

Reprinted in *Gente de carne y huseo: Las tramas de parentesco en los Andes*. Denise Y. Arnold, ed. La Paz: ILCA, Hisbol, CIASE, 1998.

1982 Idiotia da vida rural. *Dados: Revista de Ciencias Sociais*. (São Pãolo) 25:209-28 (with Glaucio Ary Dillon Soares).

Reprinted as: "The Idiocy of Rural Life." *Civilisations*, (Belgium), 1982.

1979 A Reconsideration of Phonological Play. *The Southern Anthropologist* 1: 2-9.

### **Other Writing and Reports**

2017 Food Stamp Work Requirements and the Implications of Devolution. Gender Policy Report, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, February.

2014 Transformative Coalition in Wisconsin. Special Issue on "Austerity in the Upper Midwest," *Anthropology Now* 6(3): 29-36.

2013 The Urban Public Sector as Commons. A Comment. *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2013 (66): 125-127.

2014 Reclaiming the Local in Movements against Inequality: A View from the U.S. *Focaal Blog*.

2011 Reconfiguring the Social Contract: A Summary of *Both Hands Tied*, followed by response from Lawrence Mead and response from the authors. *Focus* (publication of UW Inst. for Research on Poverty) 28(1):1-12.

2011 What Democracy Looks Like. Guest editorial, *Dialectical Anthropology* 35(2): 131-33.

- 2006 Livelihood Strategies and Family Networks of Low-wage Wisconsin Mothers. *Focus* 24(2): 8-17.
- 2006 Mothers' Family Networks and Livelihood in the Context of Child Support Enforcement Policy. Ethnographic Evaluation Report, Child Support Demonstration Evaluation, UW Inst. for Research on Poverty.
- 2003 Would Including a Social Clause in Trade Treaties Help or Hinder: A Perspective. Political Economy of the World System Section (ASA) *Newsletter*, Fall.
- 1999 Sweatshop Code of Little Use without Living Wage Provision (w/ Joel Rogers). *The Capital Times*, Tuesday, February 9. P. 9A.
- 1992 Production Relations in Irrigated Agriculture: Fruits and Vegetables in the São Francisco Valley (Brazil). Working Paper Series, Inst. for Development Anthropology. [Also released (1992) as Working Paper #24, Fresh Fruit & Vegetable Globalization Network, Research on Agro-ecology and Sustainable Agriculture, UC-Santa Cruz].
- 1986 (w/ Michael Painter) Settlement and Deforestation in Central America. Report prepared for Cooperative Agreement on Human Settlement & Natural Resource Management (USAID), Inst. for Development Anthropology.
- 1984 Land Tenure, Institutional Factors and Producer Decisions on Fragile Lands. Working Paper Series, Inst. for Development Anthropology.
- 1983 Seasonal Migration among the Aymara. *Grassroots Development* 7(2): 54-55.
- 1981 Seasonal Migration in Southern Peru. *Latinamericanist* 16: 1-3.

### **Book Reviews**

- 2013 Thomas Weaver, et al., *Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico*, in *J. of Latin American Studies*.
- 2009 Frances Rothstein, *Globalization in Rural Mexico: Three Decades of Change*, in *Amer. Ethnologist* 36(3): 599-60.
- 2008 Reforming Global Sweatshop Reform. Books reviewed: Seidman, Gay, *Beyond the Boycott: Labor Rights, Human Rights and Transnational Activism*, Ethel Brooks, *Unraveling the Garment Industry: Transnational Organizing and Women's Work*, Piya Pangsapa, *Textures of Struggle: The Emergence of Resistance among Garment Workers in Thailand*, and Sandya Hewamanne, *Stitching Identities in a Free Trade Zone: Gender and Politics in Sri Lanka*, in *New Labor Forum* 17(3): 110-115.
- 2006 Margaret K. Nelson, *The Social Economy of Single Motherhood: Raising Children in Rural America*, in *J. of Marriage and Family* 68(3).
- 2004 Leslie Salzinger, *Genders at Work: Making Workers in Mexico's Global Factories*, in *Contemporary Sociology* 33(3): 306-7.

- 2003 Lorraine Bayard de Volo, *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs: Gender Identity Politics in Nicaragua*, and Lara Putnam, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870-1960*. *Gender & Soc.* 17(15): 792-4.
- 1999 Micaela di Leonardo, *Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others and American Modernity*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 101 (3): 22-3.
- 1997 Betty Friedan, *Beyond Gender: The New Politics of Work and Family*, *The Nation* 265: 29-31.
- 1993 Marianne Schmink and Charles Wood, *Contested Frontiers in Amazonia*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 95: 764-65.
- 1993 Lynne Brydon and Sylvia Chant, *Women in the Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*, *Amer. Ethnologist* 20: 194-95.
- 1992 G. J. Gill, *Seasonality and Agriculture in the Developing World: A Problem of the Poor and Powerless*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 94(4):987-988.
- 1992 Ronald Chilcote, *Power and the Ruling Classes in Northeast Brazil: Petrolina and Juazeiro in Transition*, *Contemporary Sociology* 21(1): 59-60.
- 1989 Michael Sallnow, *Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cusco*, *Amer. Ethnologist* 16(2): 399-400.
- 1988 D. Browman, ed, *Arid Land Use Strategies and Risk Management in the Andes*, Soc. for Latin American Anthropology Newsletter 4: 20.
- 1988 Martine Segalen, *Historical Anthropology of the Family*, *J. of Marriage & Family* 50 (4): 1075.
- 1986 Norman Long, ed., *Family and Work in Rural Societies: Perspective on Non-Wage Labor, Labour, Capital & Soc.* 19(1): 144-147
- 1985 E. Moran, ed., *The Ecosystem Concept in Anthropology*, *Human Biology* 57(2):307-10
- 1984 D. Lehmann, *Ecology & Exchange in the Andes*, *Amer. Anthropologist* 86:359-60.

#### **PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS**

- 2015 Austerity's Animosities. Canadian Anthropology Society, Quebec City, Quebec, May.
- Economic Citizenship and the End of Wage Labor. Workshop on Political Economy: Labor, Capital, and the State, Grassroots Economics Project (GRECO) of the European Research Council, University of Barcelona, March 9-11.
- 2014 What/Where is the Working Class? Mellon Humanities without Walls Seminar: Global Work and Community in the Midwest, Northwestern University.

- “You Didn’t Build That:” The Politics of Public Sector Work in the Aftermath of Fordism. Society for Cultural Anthropology, Detroit.
- 2013 Rethinking Economic Value in an Era of Market Fundamentalism. American Anthropological Association, Chicago.
- What Has Happened to the Labor Movement in Wisconsin? Mini-conference on “Austerity, Inequality, and Resistance in the Upper Midwest.” Hull House, Chicago.
- Connecting Micro and Macro through Ethnography. American Sociological Association Preconvention Workshop, NY, New York.
- Labor Markets and Welfare. Response in “Author Meets Critic” Session on *Both Hands Tied*, American Sociological Association, NY, New York.
- 2011 Connection and Difference in Global Circuits: New Configurations of Labor and Inequality. Presidential Address, Amer. Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR
- Budget Protests and the “Politics of Austerity,” Amer. Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR.
- The Impacts of the Budget Repair Bill on Wisconsin Women: Social Reproduction. Univ. of Wisconsin System Women’s Studies Consortium Conference.
- 2010 Walmart’s Haunted Aisles: Crisis, Profits and the Global Race to the Bottom. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans.
- 2010 The Construction of “Citizenship’s Others” in the Labor Market. Amer. Sociological Assoc., Atlanta.
- 2009 Economic Citizenship and Welfare Reform. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Philadelphia.
- 2008 The Solitary Wage Bargain. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.
- Confronting Runaway Firms through Transnational Labor Activism. Amer. Ethnological Soc., Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina.
- Neoliberal and Neoconservative Assaults on Labor: Examples from Aguascalientes and Milwaukee, Amer. Sociological Assoc. Mini-conference on Race, Labor & Empire, Boston.
- 2007 One Big Labor Market: The New Imperialism and Worker Vulnerability, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- Welfare Reform and Worker Vulnerability in Place-Based Sectors: The U.S. Case. Work, Employment & Soc., Aberdeen, Scotland.
- 2006 The Inversion of the American Dream: Workfare and Poor Women’s Job Trajectories. Conference honoring Joan Smith: “Rethinking Political Economy: Class, Race, Gender

- and Nation. Burlington, Vermont.  
Wal-Mart. Massachusetts Inst. of Technology Conference: What's Wrong with America?
- 2005 The Opposite of Fordism: Wal-Mart Hijacks a New Regime of Accumulation. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, DC.
- Gender, Labor and the Fight against Sweatshops. Plenary Panel: Using Feminist Research for Social Change, UW Women's Studies Consortium Conference.
- 2004 Struggles for Public Space under Neoliberalism. Wenner Gren conference on New Forms of Sovereignty, New York.
- Commodity Chains and the Global Village: Changing Relationships in Global Agriculture. Symposium in honor of Fred Buttel, Rural Sociological Soc..
- New Directions in Commodity Chain Analysis of Global Development Processes. Invited symposium: New Directions in Rural Sociology & Development, World Congress of Rural Sociology.
- 2003 Neoliberalism and Labor's Spaces. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- Ethnographies of Corporate Power. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- Race, Class and Southern Workers. Rural Sociological Soc., Montreal.
- Neoliberalism and Labor's Spaces: Labor Organizing under NAFTA's Side Agreements. Soc. for the Anthropology of North America/Canadian Anthropological Soc., Halifax.
- 2002 Chasing Capital: Multi-sited Ethnography in the Global Apparel Industry. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans.
- Gender and Skill in the Globalizing Garment Industry. Harrington Symposium on Gender and Globalization, Univ. of Texas at Austin.
- 2001 Globalization is in the Details: Labor Markets in the Apparel Industry. Conference: Interrogating the Globalization Project, University of Iowa, Iowa City.
- 1998 Industrial Innovation and Control of the Working Day. 14<sup>th</sup> World Congress of the International Sociological Assoc., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
- 1997 Gender and Permanent Contracts in Agriculture. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- 1995 Producing and Consuming Grapes in World Markets: Understanding the Connections. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- National Geographic* and the Cold War. Plenary Address to Annual Meeting of the Soc. for the History of Print Culture, Madison, Wisconsin (with Catherine Lutz).

- Tracing Social Relations in Commodity Chains: The Case of Brazilian Grapes. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Santa Fe.
- Re-reading *National Geographic*. Conference on Visual Ethnography, Committee on Ethnographic Research, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder.
- 1994 Politics of Location in Development Research. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Atlanta.
- 1992 Gender, Contracts and Wage Work: Agricultural Restructuring in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.
- Commentary. Conference on Population & Environment, Social Science Research Council, International Social Science Council, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, Morelos, Mexico.
- 1991 Production Relations in Irrigated Agriculture: Fruits and Vegetables in Brazil's São Francisco Valley. Conference: Globalization of the Fresh Fruit and Vegetable System, UC, Santa Cruz.
- 1990 Power and Identity in *National Geographic*. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., New Orleans (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Marxism Confronts the Environment: Labor, Ecology and Environmental Change. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Tucson.
- Unseasonal Migration: From the Andes to High Amazonia. Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans.
- 1989 An Intersection of Gazes: National Geographic Images and Cultural Identity, 1950-1986. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C. (w/ Catherine Lutz).
- Housework and Craftwork Within Capitalism. Soc. for Economic Anthropology, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.
- Resistance and the Semi-proletarian Lifestyle. Conference: The Role of History in Local Expressions of Contemporary Resistance in the Andes, Toronto.
- 1988 Class Formation and Semi-Proletarianization in the Andes. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix, Arizona.
- Labor Outside Value. Conference on "The Political Economy of the Margins," Canadian Social Science Research Council, Toronto.
- Anthropologists and Statistics in Development-Related Research. Soc. for Applied Anthropology, Tampa.
- 1987 Finding Ourselves in the Field: Images of Andean Women. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- 1985 Gender, Labor Markets and Peasant Production in Southern Peru. Amer.

Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.

- Expressions of Ethnic Identity in a Changing Economy: The Tawantinsuyu Uprising of Southern Peru. Amer. Ethnological Soc., Toronto.
- 1984 Family Development Cycles & Seasonal Migration. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Tucson.
- 1983 The Structure of the Domestic Unit Among the Aymara. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Chicago.
- 1982 Vertical Resource Use and Economic Development in Southern Peru. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D.C.
- 1981 Translation Traditions and the Organization of Productive Activity: The Case of Aymara Affinal Kinship Terms. Keynote Symposium, Southern Anthropological Soc., Fort Worth.
- 1979 A Reconsideration of Phonological Play. Southern Anthropological Soc., Memphis, Tennessee (winner, Student Paper Competition).

#### ***INVITED LECTURES***

- 2017 Degrowth and Economic Measurement. Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Earth Day Conference, University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Ethnographic Case Studies, Law & Society Fellows Program, University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Feminist Methodology in the Twenty-first Century, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin
- 2015 Economic Citizenship in an Era of Inequality, Indiana University East, Spring Diversity Series Lecture.
- Women and the New Economy, Indiana University Women's & Gender Studies Undergraduate Conference Keynote Speaker.
- 2014 Dilemmas of Economic Value. Rockefeller Center at Bellagio.
- 2013 Labor Justice in the Food Chain. Food Week, Madison, Wisconsin.
- After Welfare: The Solitary Wage Bargain. Dept. of Anthropology, Northwestern Univ.
- Are Public Employees the New Women? Rethinking Market Value in the Context of the Wisconsin Protests. Anthropology Dept. Spring Colloquium, UW-Milwaukee.
- 2011 The Mysteries of Commodities: A Feminist Approach to Studying Commodity Chains in the World System. Keynote Address, conference on "Gender, Households and Global Commodity Chains," Fernand Braudel Center,

Binghamton Univ.

Reconfiguring the Social Contract: What Welfare Changes Mean for Low-Wage Labor. 2011 Distinguished Lecture, UW-Milwaukee Sociology Dept.

Reconfiguring the Social Contract: What Welfare Changes Mean for Low-Wage Labor. Univ of Minnesota Sociology Dept.

- 2010 Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market: Implications for Public Health, UW-Madison Dept. of Population Health.
- 2009 Does Capitalism Have a Race and Gender? Debate with David Harvey, Middlebury College.
- 2008 Comparing the Race to the Bottom in Manufacturing and Services, Dept. of Sociology, Univ of Montana.
- One Big Labor Market? Reflections from Aguascalientes and Milwaukee, Munz Center for International Studies, Univ. of Toronto.
- 2006 Do Commodity Chains Have a Theory? Depts. of Anthropology and Sociology, Univ of Kentucky.
- The Specter of Slavery: Workfare and the Economic Citizenship of Poor Women. School of Amer. Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- Gender, Labor, Activism: Ethnographic Research on the Global Apparel Industry. Dept. of Women's Studies, Emory Univ.
- 2005 Gender, Labor and Commodity Chains in the New Global Economy. Dept. of Sociology and Gender Studies Program, Northwestern Univ.
- Mothers' Family Networks & Livelihood. UW Inst. for Research on Poverty Seminar Series: Marriage, Poverty and Public Policy, October.
- 2004 Gender, Labor, Activism: Ethnographic Research in the Global Apparel Industry, Center for Research in Gender and Women's Studies, Univ of Florida.
- Gender and the Globalization of the Apparel Industry. Presentation to conference: "A New World of Work," Cultural Studies Program, George Mason Univ.
- Gender, Sweatshops, Activism. Department of Anthropology, Northwestern Univ.
- 2003 Untangling Commodity Chains Using Multi-sited Ethnography. Rural Sociology Department Seminar, Univ of Wisconsin.
- Rumpelstiltskin and the Maiden: Gender and Skill in History and Political Economy. Mellon Women's History Workshop, Univ of Wisconsin.
- 2002 Threads of Gender and Power: Women Workers in the Global Apparel Industry.



Women's Studies Research Center Colloquium, Univ of Wisconsin.

"What Work Is:" Gender and New Forms of Community Unionism among Apparel Workers. Gender Studies Program, Northwestern Univ.

1996 Figuring Out What We Have a Case of: Qualitative Methodology and Links to Theory. Conference on Ethnographic and Qualitative Methods in Population Research. Carolina Population Center & Andrew Mellon Foundation. Univ of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

1993 Tending Vineyards for the World: Can Brazilian Small Farms Participate in the Non-traditional Export Crop Boom? Department of Anthropology, Univ of Pittsburgh.

Luxury Fruits for World Markets: Production Relations in Northeastern Brazil. Department of Anthropology, Emory Univ.

From Desert to Vineyard: The Social Relations of Irrigated Grape Production in Northeastern Brazil. Latin American and Iberian Studies Program, Univ of Wisconsin.

1991 Time, Work Discipline and Irrigated Agriculture: Gender and Labor Process in Brazil's California. Departments of Sociology and Women's Studies, Univ of Wisconsin.

1990 Unseasonal Migration: Labor Process and the Environment. Rural Sociology, Cornell.

Marxism Confronts the Environment. Columbia Univ Ecology Seminar.

1989 Cultural Models of Cultural Difference: Images of the Third World in *National Geographic* 1950-1986. Fernand Braudel Center, SUNY-Binghamton.

Experience, Difference and Women's Lives: Feminism and Sociocultural Anthropology. Department of Anthropology, Hunter College, CUNY.

1988 Family Farming in the Andes. Latin American Studies Program, Cornell Univ.

1987 Commentary. Conference on Racism and Sexism in the World Economy. Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Political Economy of the World System Section, American Sociological Assoc.

1986 Irrigation and the Outer Environment. International Agriculture Program, Cornell Univ.

1985 Labor Dynamics, Producer Decisions and Cycles of Environmental Decline. Paper presented to workshop: "Lands at Risk in the Third World: Local Level Perspectives." Inst. for Development Anthropology/Clark Univ.

The Environmental Effects of Social Differentiation. Center for Human Ecology, Rutgers.

1984 The Impact of Wage Labor and Cash Cropping on Aymara Communities. Department of Anthropology/Latin American Studies Program, Cornell Univ.

Land Tenure, Institutional Factors and Producer Decisions on Fragile Lands. Land

Tenure Common Theme Workshop, USAID/University of Wisconsin Land Tenure Center, Annapolis.

Colonization and Smallholder Coffee Production on the Steep Slopes of the Eastern Andes. Colloquium, Center for Latin American Studies, Univ. of Florida.

## **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

### **Offices Held in Professional Associations:**

2009-2011	President, American Ethnological Society
2007-2009	President Elect, American Ethnological Society
1989-91	President, Association for Feminist Anthropology
1986-89	Councilor, Society for Latin American Anthropology

**Member:** American Sociological Assoc., American Anthropological Assoc., American Ethnological Soc., Rural Sociological Soc., Sociologists for Women in Soc., Labor and Labor Movements section of ASA, Soc. for Latin American Anthropology, Assoc. for Feminist Anthropology, National Women's Studies Assoc., Soc. for Economic Anthropology

**Editorial Work:** Editorial Board, *American Ethnologist*, 2011-present; *North American Dialogue*, 2008-present; *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 1995-2000; *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 1999-01; editorial advisory board for series on "Economic Transformations," Agenda Publishing, UK. 2016-

Book Prize Committees: Labor and Labor Movements Section Prize (ASA); Senior Book Prize Committee (AES); Sarah Whaley Prize (NWSA).

Review committees for: Center for Engaged Scholarship, National Science Foundation, Wenner Gren Foundation, National Geographic Soc., Howard Heinz Endowment, Inter-American Foundation.

### **Sessions, panels and conferences organized:**

2016	Anthropology and the Politics of the Public Sphere, American Anthropological Association, Minneapolis
2011	Perspectives on the Budget Crisis in Wisconsin and Puerto Rico. American Ethnological Soc., San Juan, PR
2009	Labor Studies for the Twenty-first Century. Speakers Series, UW Havens Center, (w/ Will Jones).
2008	New Landscapes of Inequality. Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco.  The Prospects for Global Citizenship, Amer. Ethnological Soc., Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina.
2006	New Landscapes of Inequality. School of Advanced Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico. (w/ Micaela di Leonardo and Brett Williams)
2005	Qualitative Approaches to the Study of Poverty and Welfare Reform, Inst. for Research

- on Poverty, UW March 4-5.
- 2004 Trademark Licensing and Code of Conduct Compliance, co-organized for UW Labor Licensing Policy Committee, March 24-25.
- 2002 Labor in the Global Economy. Speaker Series. UW Havens Center (w/ Gay Seidman).
- 1998 Work & the Life Cycle. Invited session, 14<sup>th</sup> World Congress of Sociology, Montreal.
- Work time Flexibility in International Perspective, conference sponsored by Global Studies Program/MacArthur Foundation, UW.
- 1992 Local Impacts of Agricultural Restructuring, Invited session, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., San Francisco (w/ Lois Stanford).
- 1990 Social Science Perspectives on Environmental Management, for the Amer. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, New Orleans.
- 1988 Invited session: "Conceptualizing Inequality: Class, Gender and Ethnicity in the Andes" for the Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix.
- Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology Roundtable Luncheons, Annual Meeting, Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Phoenix.
- 1985-88 Co-organizer, Human Rights Panel, Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology, 84th-87th Annual Meetings of the Amer. Anthropological Assoc..
- 1985 Soc. for Latin Amer. Anthropology session: "Labor Processes and Domestic Production in Latin America," Annual Meeting of the Amer. Anthropological Assoc., Washington. D.C.

### **Courses Taught (University of Wisconsin)**

CESoc 955: Seminar in Qualitative Methodology: Case Study Research  
 CESoc 940: Seminar in Social Change: Commodities in the Global Economy  
 CESoc 925: Labor in the Global Economy  
 CESoc 754: Qualitative Methods in Sociology  
 CE Soc 540: International Development, Environment and Sustainability  
 CE Soc 341: Labor and Food Systems in the Global Economy  
 CE Soc 340: Critical Approaches to Food Systems  
 CE Soc 140: Introduction to Community & Environmental Sociology  
 GWS 320: Feminism and Consumer Culture.  
 GWS 441: Contemporary Feminist Theory  
 GWS 640, Advanced Seminar in Women's Studies  
 GWS 880, Introduction to Graduate Women's Studies  
 GWS 900, Research in Women's Studies.

Currently chairing 11 Ph.D. committees and 1 Master's committee. In 2016, I served as a member of 33 additional Ph.D. and Master's committees. I have served on the committees of students from 20 departments and programs across the university.

### **Selected University of Wisconsin Service**

Social Studies Divisional Committee, 1995-97 (Chair, 1997)  
L&S Financial Emergency Planning Committee, 1995-97  
Graduate School Research Committee (Social Studies), 1997-99  
Labor Licensing Policies Committee, 1999-2013  
University Academic Planning Council, 2000-04  
Chair, Land Resources Program Review Committee, 2002  
Selection Committee, Associate Dean of Graduate School, 2002  
Advisory Committee for Evaluating the Cluster Hiring Initiative, 2002-03  
Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, Social Sciences, 2002-05  
Inst. for Research on Poverty Executive Committee, 2006-present  
Development Studies Program Executive Committee 2006-2011  
Provost's Committee to Evaluate the Tenure Process, 2008-10  
Latin American Caribbean and Iberian Studies Nave Lectureship Committee 2010-12  
World Affairs and the Global Economy (WAGE) Steering Committee, 2009-2010  
Chair, Land Tenure Center Review Committee, 2010  
Gaylord Nelson Professorship Selection Committee, 2013  
Graduate School Research Committee (Interdisciplinary), 2013  
Selection Committee for Named Professorships, 2015-  
Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, Social Sciences, 2016-

# **EXHIBIT B**

**Exhibit B: Round-Trip Distance (in miles) to Nearest Clinic Providing Medication Abortion and Nearest Clinic Providing Surgical Abortion for Iowa Counties (only those 70 counties here the distance is greater are listed)**

	<b>County</b>	<b>Closest Clinic for MAB</b>	<b>Closest Clinic for SAB</b>	<b>Additional Miles</b>
1.	Adams	164 CB	178 DM	14
2.	Allamakee	196 CF	262 IC	66
3.	Audubon	152 CB	174 DM	22
4.	Benton	84 CF	114 IC	20
5.	Black Hawk	18 CF	164 IC	146
6.	Boone	52 A	116 DM	64
7.	Bremer	48 CF	208 IC	160
8.	Buchanan	64 CF	134 IC	70
9.	Buena Vista	148 SC	314 DM	166
10.	Butler	170 CF	224 DM	54
11.	Calhoun	158 A	220 DM	62
12.	Carroll	132 A	180 DM	48
13.	Cass	104 CB	182 DM	78
14.	Cerro Gordo	156 CF	240 DM	84
15.	Cherokee	106 SC	374 DM	268
16.	Chickasaw	92 CF	152 IC	60
17.	Clay	186 SC	378 DM	192
18.	Clayton	180 CF	198 IC	18
19.	Clinton	54 BT	142 IC	88
20.	Crawford	144 CB	264 DM	120
21.	Davis	164 BR	228 DM	64
22.	Delaware	112 CF	132 IC	20
23.	Des Moines	18 BR	144 IC	126
24.	Dickinson	218 SC	416 DM	198
25.	Emmett	260 SC	356 DM	96
26.	Fayette	112 CF	204 IC	92
27.	Floyd	108 CF	280 DM	172
28.	Franklin	118 CF	176 DM	58
29.	Fremont	90 CB	340 DM	250
30.	Greene	108 A	152 DM	44
31.	Grundy	52 CF	166 DM	114
32.	Hamilton	60 A	63 DM	33
33.	Hancock	160 A	216 DM	56
34.	Hardin	104 CF	164 DM	60
35.	Harrison	72 CB	258 DM	186
36.	Henry	78 BR	102 IC	24
37.	Howard	142 CF	302 IC	160
38.	Humboldt	176 A	230 DM	54
39.	Ida	116 SC	310 DM	194
40.	Jackson	110 BT	198 IC	88
41.	Jefferson	106 BR	124 IC	18
42.	Lee	52 BR	144 IC	218
43.	Lyon	238 SC	536 DM	298
44.	Marshall	80 A	100 DM	20

45. Mills	56 CB	274 DM	218
46. Mitchell	150 CF	308 DM	158
47. Monona	90 SC	308 DM	218
48. Montgomery	102 CB	238 DM	136
49. O'Brien	66 SC	210 DM	144
50. Osceola	170 SC	460 DM	290
51. Page	146 CB	266 DM	120
52. Palo Alto	254 SC	326 DM	72
53. Plymouth	26 SC	225 DM	199
54. Pocahontas	200 SC	270 DM	70
55. Pottawattamie	54 CB	214 DM	160
56. Sac	146 SC	300 DM	154
57. Scott	26 BT	106 IC	80
58. Shelby	104 CB	218 DM	114
59. Sioux	92 SC	490 DM	398
60. Story	24 A	74 DM	50
61. Tama	66 CF	160 DM	94
62. Taylor	194 CB	204 DM	10
63. Van Buren	110 BR	180 IC	70
64. Wapello	158 BR	180 DM	28
65. Webster	110 A	170 DM	60
66. Winnebago	234 A	290 DM	56
67. Winneshiek	146 CF	256 IC	110
68. Woodbury	60 SC	352 DM	292
69. Worth	200 A	256 DM	56
70. Wright	114 A	170 DM	56

A = Ames  
BR = Burlington  
BT = Bettendorf

CB = Council Bluff  
CF = Cedar Falls  
DM = Des Moines

IC = Iowa City  
SC = Sioux City